## THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1861. There are voices ecbeing in the mountains. Kentucky is again crying in the wilderness. When your dear friend is supposed to be dead, and he again rushes to your arms, the joy of meeting is largely enhanced by the tender grief for his loss, from which you are so suddenly taken. The numerous admirers of Gov. Charles S. Morehead, many of whom supposed that the monumental marble was standing sentitel over his final rest, upon which the craft of the graver had exhausted both his imagination in delineating virtues, and his skill in tracing them for the "Old Mortalities" of distant but not remote ages, will be passionately glad to know that he is still alive-nay more, not to be ungubernatorially familiar, is kicking-rather feebly to be sure, but still with enough of muscular action to settle the question of his still pessessing the functions of life.

Better, however, had it been for him that his hatchment had been hung over his portal than that the evidence of his living should have been a declaration of treason to his Government. Better that he should have died with the faint reputation which hedges a Governor with an unnoted and uneventful administration, than to have his obscurity made infamous by the utterances of rebellion. Never seeing but dimly, Gov. Morehead discerns no course for Kentucky but resistsuce, if the Federal power do anything more than to sit at Washington, draw their sataries, give good dinners, and let everybody do as they please. In effect, abdicate all authority, surrender the exercise of sovereignty, and give full sway to popular outbreak, and free range to insubordination and turbulence.

Gov. Morehead is but little known, and only deserves attention from the recent position he has held. Indeed, he reached that by an organization which is to party what Potter's Field is to a large city-a common receptacle for all grades and classes of mortality, from the friendless and unknown stranger to the ruffian of the Five Points and the robber of pockets at the prize-fight and the Long Island race-course. He was raised to doubtful honor by a breath of sufferage as foul, and rank, and postilential to a healthy administration as ever lifted moderate incapacity into place, or gave the sword of the State into a mediocrity, both of capacity and char-

His public life began in Congress, where he took, with a self-devetion which should move to tears, his mileage and per diem-made a speech or two, in which he argued both sides, and ended, perhaps, by stepping into the lobby when the yeas and nays called him to the record. But to do him full justice, he was reasonably constant in his attendance at the sittings of the House, unless the resulting headache of a Congressional wassail kept him to bed and wet napkine beyond the hour of meeting.

He assisted in saving the Union in 1850 by impressing upon the minds of some gentlemen of Northern education, but of facile virtue, that several dissolutions of the Confederacy were impending, unless the South could have, for time in-definite, the rule of the old States, and full immunity for new territory. It is just such men as Mr. Morehead who have done all this mischief. With good looks and fair address, tact enough to gain a seat in Congress without the talent to fill with usefulness, to his constituency or honor to himself, the chair to which he has been elevated, he debauches his associates in their policy, and depraves their fidelity to their own section, and ends as he has done, by openly becoming an spostle of rebellion.

I have wasted more paper than the station of the individual demands or deserves, but he is a representative type of character which we hope may die out in the coming advance of a new generation. Our Legislatures, National and State. have been full of such men, and with the inevitable consequence, of course, we have, in effect, the troubles which are now gathered upon us in armed insurrection, defiance of law, and assaults on the Constitution itself. No one now thinks of talking of qualifications—the only question is, Can he get votes ? Education, brain, study of government, knowledge of history, breadth of appreciation, are as the small dust of the balance to shallow pretension, plausible hypocrisy, and seductive manners, rude or refined, to steal the hearts of Now is not the time for these rethe voters. flections. When we are purged of disease, and again, in the renovated health of hospital discharge, pass to the ordinary walks of duty, we shall have lessons learned in the fiery trial of the errors which have led us to the borders of a destruction which has been averted only by the latent virtue of the people.

But, I ask, have we not had enough of Border-

State healing and quilting-party adjustment? Who cares, now, whether Kentucky gathers together In Convention, to drink old Bourbon or to draw resolutions of amity? Caucuses are now held in camps. Bayonets, and not ballots, are to settle questions of long controversy for which the Statute-Book has had no effective remedy. Kentucky is for or against us. There is, and can be, ao neutrality. We know where Mr. Breckinridge is-we know where Gov. Magoffin is-and now we can find the lodgement of Mr. Morehead, and we also know where they each ought to be, and where they would most assuredly be, if the Goverument would make a wholesome example of traitors. Somebody must be hung in this embroilment, and if the painful duty is to be performed, it may be well to begin at an early day. If we cannot fight Asiatic cholers in the Dismal Swamp, or grapple with yellow fever in the marshes of St. Mary's River, we can pass the Summer heats in court-martial and campfustice, without being treated by the Army-Surgeon for congestion of the brain, or being drugged with opium for chronic diarrhea. If we cannot precipitate an army on Charleston or New-Orleans, we are able, surely, to weed out, in high latitudes, the shoot of sedition, growing with a rapid vegetation into stalk and seed, for a new crop in perennial increase.

It is the boast of Secessionists, in all of the Border States, that they are kept fully advised of every movement of the Federal Authorities. This city is full of treachery and common informers. The seizure of the telegraph has impeded our means of communication, and the stoppage of Southern mails has choked another channel of intelligence; but couriers with letters written in Departments have full right of way and departure when and where they please. Doubtless the military authorities un-derstand themselves and their duty. Men outside,

who see and know those things, do not comprehend | " for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of | cannot but be interesting, I will draw it for you briefly. why they are permitted. We can only look on, cometimes wonder, at all times wait, and cling to a confidence which whispers that in the end all will be well.

THE WAR POWER OVER SLAVERY. We published not long ago an extract from a speech delivered by John Quincy Adams in Congress in 1842, in which that eminent statesman confidently announced the doctrine that in a state of war, civil or servile, in the Southern States, Congress has full and plenary power over the whole subject of Slavery; martial law takes the place of civil laws and municipal institutions, slavery among the rest, and "not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the Army, has power to order the

universal emancipation of the slaves." Mr. Adams was in 1842, under the ban of the daveholders, who were trying to censure him or expel him from the House for presenting a petition in favor of the dissolution of the Union. Lest it may be thought that the doctrine announced at this time was thrown out hastily and offensively, and for the purpose of annoying and aggravating his enemies, and without due consideration, it may be worth while to show that six years previous, in May, 1836. Mr. Adams held the same opinions, and auneunced them as plainly as in 1842. Indeed, it is quite likely that this earlier announcement of these iews was the cause of the secret hostility to the ex-President, which broke out so rancorously in 1842. We have before us a speech by Mr. Adams, on the joint resolution for distributing rations to the distressed fugitives from Indian hostilities in the States of Alabama and Georgia, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 25, 1836, and published at the office of The National Intelligencer. We quote from it the following classification of the powers of Congress and the Executive.

gress and the Executive.

"There are then, Mr. Chairman, in the authority of Congress and of the Executive, two clarses of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other—the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations and restricted by provisi ns, presented within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usuages of nations. This power is tremendoes: it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life. This, Sir, is the liberty, of property, and of life. This, Sir, is the power which authorizes you to para the recolution now power which authorizes you to pass the r before you, and, in my opinion no other.'

After an interruption, Mr. Adams returned to this subject, and went on to say:

"There are indeed rowers of peace conferred upor "There are indeed powers of reace conferred upon Congress which also come within the scope and jurisdiction of the laws of nations, such as the negotiation of treaties of amity and commerce, the interchange of public ministers and consule, and all the personal and social intercourse between the individual itabilitans of the United States and foreign nations, and the Indian tribes, which require the interpolition of any law. But the powers of war are all regulated by the laws of nations, and are subject to no other limitation.

\* It was upon it is principle that I voted against the resolution reported by the clavery committee, that Congress possess no constitutional authority against the resolution reported by the clavery committee, that Congress possess no constitutional autority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy, to within resolution most of those with whom I usually concur, and even my own colleagues in this House, gave their assent. I do not admit that there is, even among the peace powers of Congress, no such authority, but in was there are many ways by which Congress not only have the authority, but are BOUND TO INTERFERE WITH THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVER IN THE STATES. The existing law problibiting the importation of slaves The existing law probibiting the importation of slaves into the United States from foreign countries is itself an interference with the institution of slavery in the States. It was so considered by the founders of the Constitution of the United States, in which it was stipulated that Congress should not interfere, in that way, with the institution, prior to the year 1803 "
"During the late war with Great Britain, the military and naval commanders of that on ion issued proceedings in the slaves to repair to their standard that the standard process of th

nations inviting the slaves to repair to heir stan ards, with promises of freedom and of estilement in some of the British colonial establehments. This surely was an interference with the institution of Sha-ery in the States. By the treaty of peace, Great Britian stipulated to evacuate all the forts and ; Lie-e in the United States, without carrying away any slaves. If the Government of the United States and no jower to interfere, in any way, with the institution of Slavery in the States, they would not have had the authority in the States, they would not have had the authorsy to require this stipulation. It is well known that this engagement was not fellibled by the British mival and military commanders; that, on the contrary, they did carry away all the slaves whom they had induced to join them, and that the British Government inflexibly refused to restore any of them to their masters; that a claim of indemnity was consequently instituted in behalf of the owners of the slaves, and was successfully the feel of the terms of transcribes was an inined All that series of trapsactions was an to terference by Congress with the institution of Slave terference by Congress with the institution of Slavery in the States in one way—in the way of protection and support. It was by the institution of Slavery alone that the restitution of slaves, entired by proclamations into the British service, could be claimed as property. But for the institution of Slavery, the British commanders could neither have allured them to their standard, nor restored them otherwise than as liberated prisoners of war. But for the institution of Slavery, there could have been no stipulation that they should prisoners of war. But he the institution of Savery, there could have been no stipulation that they should not be carried away as properly, nor any claim of in-demnity for the violation of that engagement."

If this speech had been made in 1860 instead of 1836, Mr. Adams would not have been compelled to rely upon these comparatively trivial and unimportant instances of interference by Congress and the President for the support and protection of Slavery. For the last twenty years the support and protection of that institution has been, to use Mr. Adams's words at a later day, the vital and animating spirit of the Government; and the Constitution has been interpreted and administered as if it contained an injunction upon all men, in power and out of power, to sustain and perpetuate Slavery. Mr. Adams goes on to state how the war power may be used:

"But the war power of Congress over the institution of slavery in the States is yet far more extensive. Suppose the case of a servile war, complicated, as to some extent it is even now, with an Lodan war; suppose Congress were called to raise armies to supply noney from the whole Union to supposes a servile insurrection: would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile was a disastrons, it may be one pecessary for the the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile war may be disastrous; it may become necessary for the master of the slave to recognize his emancipation by a treaty of peace; can it for an instant he pretended that Congress, in such a confingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of clavery in any way in the States? Why, it would be equivalent saying that Congress have no cousti utional an hority to make pance. I suppose a more portentous case, cer-tainly within the bounds of possibility—I would to God I could say not within the bounds of probabili-

Mr. Adams here at considerable length portrays the danger then existing of a war with Mexico, involving England and the European powers, bringing hostile armies and fleets to our own Southern territory, and inducing not only a foreign war but an Indian, a civil, and a servile war, and making of the Southern States "the battle field upon which the last great conflict will be fought between Slavery and Emancipa-"Do you imagine (he asks) that your \* Congress will have no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of Slavery in any way in the States of this Confederacy? Sir, they must and will interfere with it-per-"baps to sustain it by war; perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, "but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself. From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theater of war, civil, servile, or 'foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of Slavery, in every way by which it can "be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity

"State burdened with Stavery to a foreign power."

FROM PENSACOLA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. OR BOARD U. S. STEAM PRIGATE POWRATARA! OFF PERSACOLA, Thursday Morning, May 23.

Silently awaiting his doom, in the prison of Mont comery, is an officer of the United States Navy, whose existence seems to be forgotten by his country and his friends. A sad, brief note about him was placed in my hands ten minutes since, and I cannot resist the impulse to put the statement of his case at the head of my letter. "The poor fellow," writes an Alabama Secessionist, "has no money and no friends here. The little capital he had has been paid, from time to time, for food and trivial comforte, to the family of his jailer." The subject of this paragraph is one of the most efficient officers in the service, and came to be imprisoned in this way: The Government at Washington-which never mentions him in its dispatches-sent Mr. Worden from the intional-Capital expressly to order the reenforcement of Fort Pickens. His dispatches were addressed to Capt. Adams of the Subine. He arrived safely at Ponsacola-at Warrington-at the beadquarters of Gen. Bragg, on the very day that Gen. Bragg, Commodere Ingraham of the Confederate Navy, and Capt. Adams of the Sabine had dired together. den, fearing trouble, read his orders two or three times, committed them to memory, and tore them up. He told Brags he was a courier from the United States Government to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States naval forces in Florida, and wanted to go on board the Sabine. "You can go on one condition, Sir," said the General, "I cannot observe any condition, Gen. Bragg," replied the officer; "my position in the United States service forbids it." "But I have an understanding with Capt. Adams," said the Genral. "I cannot help it," interropted the Lientenant; 'I merely sek to go on board that vessel and if you can allow me, I would deem it a great favor."

After some consultation, Mr. Worden was permitted to go on board. He dehvered his instructions verbally on a certain morning. At ten o'clock that night they were obeyed. Pickens was reinforced. A miscellaneous collection of army soldiers, marines, and sailors, augmented Lieut. Slemmer's command; and Worden did his dury. But, very rashly, he thought that Brang would, on his return, let him outside the Southern line immolested. He proposed to go on share; Capt. Adam first objected, but finally acquiesced. The brave Worden shoved off in his little boat, and landed. A complete change had taken place in the spirit of the chivalrous Brugg. The reinforcement enraged him Just while a spy was narrating the circumstances of the midnight adventure-awelling our hundreds into thou ands-the Lieutenant appeared. He was secured, imprisoned, sent to Montgomery, and there he is. No one has epoken or written anything about him; and no one seems to care whether he lives or dies.

On this evening an attempt will be made to test the portable nature of the Navy-Yard dry dock, which cost the United States Government one hundred and fortythree thousand dollars. Moved or not, it is worthless now. Crammed with stones, bricks, old iron, and beavy loge, it is utterly defaced and rained. On Monday next the Secessionists, in obedience to a plan of Commodore Ingraham and Lieutenant Renshaw, will try to put it in the channel, between the yard and the ships. Their idea is to make the stream ionocessible to the ships, the Brooklyn and Sabine, whose united batteries could demolish all the "hidden" breastworks in six hours by Florida time. Ingraham very pointedly remarked a few days since, that "the gun boats could not be shut out without spoiling the harbor forever; buts solid shot can sink one of them any day." It is lamen able to see grand schemes executed for nothing. Will it not be a sad night for our enemy to behold the three "biggest" men-of-war in the feet steam up to Warrington some fine day, after all the trouble they took to prevent the contingency ? They are sad philosophers to suppose that men who drive iron carriages through rocky mountains, would let an old dry dock stop them in a Southern bay. Ships' draught has been a greater difficulty with us than harbor blocks; but there are remedies for all things, and blasting-powder for river impediments.

Two companies of infantry from Louisians, arrived at the Confederate camp a little while since, and my impurturlable Friday witnessed their reception. One Capt. Batchelor, a New-Orleans man, presented them to their Governor, who ordered them to reenforce a short regiment from the Crescent City, which could not get, by book or crook, the requisite number of men when leaving. My man noticed, that when the newly-arrived troops joined Col. Gladden, other companies left the regiment of that officer, which shows at there is some likelihood of there being loose counting in estimating the numerical strength of our enemy Indeed it is slyly hinted, that when Mr. Russell of The London Times " reviewed the troops," two regiments at a time were marched over the parade ground, the last compan es of which, minus apparently an impromptu uniform, bore a marked resemblance to each ther. I cannot youch for the accuracy of this statement, but no false news has hitherto reached me from the source to which I am indebted for it.

The captain of a Bristol (England) bark has bad a spicy argument with her Majesty's Consul about businers matters. The vessel arrived in the offing some cays ago, having been previously examined by our mers, whose officers informed her captain about the blockade regulations. She left Bristol before the notication time had expired, and was not, therefore, liable to be seized as a prize. Not content with exemption from this appleasant position, the Briton insisted on his right to discharge, reload, and "go where he pleased." There being some difference of opinion between hom and the Consul, relative to the technicalities of the affair, he was plainly told that if, after the 20th day of May, he continued to defy the authorities of the United States, and his own country, his vessel and cargo would cease to be protected by the British flag. I got a glimpse of three private notes, exchanged between the captain and Mr. H. A. M---, of Pensacola, which snows that the representative of her Brittanic Majesty in these parts knows his business, and is pre-I hear this morning that the "green provision and

fresh beef" supplies of the rebei troops on shore are to be entirely cut off on and after Monday pext, the 27th inst. There has existed between the commanders of the fleet's considerable difference of opinion on this matter, and I am glad that a definite course has been decided on. At present, Savannah, Mobile, and some other Southern towns find meme, directly and indirectly, to send live sheep, cows, and vegetables to Brugg's command. Some people say that the little tage bringing them "blink the cruivers:" but, this being almost impossible, the assertion that onr officers lemently allow them to pass is the most probable. I can state, semi-officially, that a general order from the Commander-in-Chief of the squadron is being prepared, which will thoroughly obstruct all intercourse between the Secessionists and the harbor, except what may be carried on by sixty-eight-pounders. And here it may not be amiss to state that the deprivation of fresh food is one of the most formidable weapons that we could possibly use against the Secessionists. Experienced men will understand it. In this connection, it is appropriate to remark that the salt horse" is doing our men serious harm. On board the Sabine alone, I am told there are seventeen cases of scurvy, all caused by the want of fresh provisions and almost exclusive supply of salt beef. The Crusader and Water Witch are periodically sent to Havana and Key West for little luxuries, but there are always ordnance, shot, shell, and war materials to be aght backward and forward from Forte Taylor and Jefferson, which leave little room for estables. The medical men of two or three ships have expatiated on the evils of confining sailors and marines to sait food; and one of them went so far as to tell an enterprising

captain that " men sick are gons spiked." As an outline of the manner in which hostilities will progress here—as they are certainly near at hand-

You know that Santa Rosa island is ours. Now, although Fort Pickens is built on this island, seeing that it is thirty miles long, the occupation of it is a thing to boast of. As the best cannon cannot kill at a distance of six miles, all the Florida army might be encamped on land, on the range line of Harvey Brown's ordnance. But now the thing cannot take place unless five thousand rebels succeed in getting " on board" the eastern extremity of Rosa. If the fleet is where it ought to be at all times, this, too, cannot happen; but if the menof-war are caught napping, the Secessionists might, by force of numbers, get a footing on terra firma-on th same shore, remember, with Fort Pickens. Now, Fort McRae is nearer the ocean than Pickens and is, therefore calculated on to reciprocate warm compliments with the ships. Pickens covers McRae on one side at a range of about two miles, and the Navy-Yard on another side, for Pickens, although first cornered, will soon be nearly a parallelogram in effect, at a range of me mile and a half. The Sabine, Brooklyn, and others will engage McRae on one side, and Pickens on the other. Barranene may assail Pickens, but the fleet can keep outside its reach. As eighty formidable guns on the vessels and the most powerful side of Pickens would be tremendous odds against McRae, the little assistance that Barraneas could give would be of no ecount. Still some hastily constructed pieces at the Navy-Yard might annoy Pickens seriously for a time; but there is a remedy for that which cannot be seen so easily as the location of the harbor, and which it is not within my province to name. The first firing, then, must inevitably be at Pickens from McRae and Barruncas, and vice versa at McRae, and probably afterward at Barrancas, from the ships; at the ships from McRae, as that is the only battery now to be seen that could touch them. There is no doubt of two things on our side: first, Rosa Island can easily be made impregnable if we get some more men; secondly, that there are not three gunners on shore who need be feared firing at ships. I have it from one of the best authorites here that our men-of-war can hardly be splintered by any fort in the neighborhood of Peneacola. A practical artiflerest himself, like your correspondent, he says that line shooting is the best that can be done by McRae or Barrancas, and that "spots" cannot be commanded. As the whole horizon is a line, and as men-of-war are ot anchored in battle, there is no reason to believe that any of our craft will be chipped. However, the gunbeats, the splendid chartered conl-barges of the Paragusy fleet, are to keep outside of danger when the fire begins. They will be needed for messenger business, which they do well in fine weather and smooth

There are no less than eixteen land batteries, large and small, surrounding this harbor, the location of nine of them being openly known. Whether the situation of the others has been discovered or not, time will develope. Many of the guns mounted on these, are the worthless, condemned, ordnance of the Warrington Navy-Yard, which a few ounces of quarry powder would blow to pieces. Mr. Ganesvoort, of New-York,

an corroborate this. pretends even to guess who will fire the first gun, or

ULTERIOR RESULTS OF THE WAR.

THE NORTH-COUNTERBALANCES OR EQUIV-ALINTS FOR LOSSES.

Sin: I propose to discuss some questions which have practical bearing upon the financial and mercantile business of the Northern States as affected by the

1. An unnecessary alarm has, I think, been excited on the ground that our commerce is exposed to risk was stated broadly so as to include the possible contin any sovereignty. It would, in that case, be merely

2. As to any interference with our blockade of Southern ports, it appears to me there is an equally uncailed-for apprehension. Assuming the most unfavorable aspect of the case that can be supposed, viz., that the contest is between two belligerent nationalities even then, according to the usages of all civilized nations, the blockade is effectual, because we have acport of the South. The principle is too well settled to admit of serious question, that there is at the present time an actual blockade which must be recognized by every European power. But we may also take the ground, which I believe will ultimately have to be conceded by all foreign governments, that the Southern States have in no sense a sovereignty de facto. The time since their revolt is too short to consummate any such pretension. Whatever delay has occurred is to be attributed rather to the forbearance of our Government than to its want of intrinsic power to put down the rebellion, and until we shall have actually tried our power without success, it cannot be taken for granted by any foreign potentate that we have not the ability queil the insurrectionary force.

The principles upon which these remarks are founded may be said to be elementary, and must be recognized by England, France, and every other European Goveroment, whenever either of them shall be called to take decided action.

propositions be assumed, that there will still be a serious check to the employment of ships and the carrying of merchandise. It may be feared by our merchants that there will be piratical interference with their propcrty at sea, however unlawful it may be, and there certainly is some warrant for believing that unprincipled adventurers can be found to engage in such enterprises if the probable gain should preponderate over Had this not been the case, the slave-trade would

long since have been suppressed. For the same reason that this infamous traffic has continued in defiance of the denunciation by all Christian States and the penalty upon all engaged in it of being dealt with as pirates, we may well conclude that vessels may be fitted out for depredation upon our commerce, even in ports of those countries whose Governments wholly enudiate the right of so doing.

We have had some experience in our own country now easy it is to get vessels off upon expeditions for bidden by our laws, whether for the importation of

I believe that there is no part of the seat of war where a battle is so inevitable, and yet where so much mutual misunderstanding exists, as Pensacola. No one where it will be fired. The question will soon be aptly asked at home, What we are doing here. We obey or ders, and do nothing. Why do we not drive out the rebels and retake the Navy Yard? Because we have only some 1,500 men by sen and land, who have guns to work, and forta to batter down. Were all our strength at its post, there would not be a picket guard left for Send along 5,000 troops and five men-of-war core, and before they are three days off the coast of Florida, the Star-Spangled Banner will wave in triumph over Pensacola. But we wait patiently, and

EFFECTS UPON THE COMMERCIAL INTERESTS OF

To the Estion of The N. Y. Tribune."

from privateers. There certainly is very little reason o apprehend danger from what can be done directly by the Southern rebels. They have neither ships nor the means of buying them. Then, as to the probability of their being able to get up expeditions of that kind in foreign ports for the mere sake of plunder, it is a conclusive answer that in no country of Europe would that kind of buccaneering be telerated. The rule was creedly stated by Lord Brougham in a recent debute n the British Parliament, that a neutral Government could not lawfully allow privateers to be fitted out in its ports against either of two belligerent parties. This gency that the contending parties in the civil war now existing in this country might be entitled to be treated as independent belligerents. But the question is still more easy of decision, if, as we claim, the Southern States have not yet acquired that position that would justify a foreign Government in treating them as having revolt with which, of course, no European power could interfere, but during the pendency of which the Federal Governm at most be held to have sole authority over all the States so long as it is pursuing measures to enforce that authority with a reasonable prospect of

3. It cannot, however, be disguised, even if these

slaves or the invasion of some territory belonging to a friendly power.

While, then, we may be hopeful that no difficulties will occur with any foreign States, it still may be calculated that capital will not during the present state of things be largely risked in foreign trade. I infer that the importation of merchandise will necessarily be light. The interior trade of the country will of course be diminished in a proportionate degree. In fact, it is even now apparent that mercantile credit is to a great extent suspended.

4. The sudden diminution of mercantile and manufacturing business has bad the effect to throw out of employment a large number of men who have been connected with that kind of business upon salaries. In fact the discharge of clerks and employees commenced long since, and must go on in a still increasing ratio, as business shall be more curtailed.

The shipping business, as yet, is not so much affected. There has, so far, been no actual attempt to capture our vessels, and the demand abroad for our Northern products is unimpaired.

Having thus referred briefly to some of the unfavorable circumstances which will operate upon Northern enterprise during the pendency of the war, I will advert to the counterbalances which will ultimately, as I trust, more than make good all our losses:

First: A large proportion of those who have lost their usual employment are taken into military service, or have found something to do in the various modes of mechanical industry connected with military munitions, clothing, &c.

In the present state of patriotic feeling (which I trust will not seen subside) the families of all who have enlisted as soldiers will be liberally provided for in case of their decease by the casualties of war, while in the mean time their pay is, in the larger number cases, greater than they would be receiving in their ordinary employments.

Second : The destruction of life in war is far less than might be inferred from the formidable character of the implements introduced by modern invention. Especially will this be the case in the war now initiated. It can hardly be doubted that the military array on either side has sufficient apprehension of the valor of its adversary not to risk a conflict with superior forces. The consequence will be, that if the Federal armament largely exceeds the Southern, we shall have a victory without much bloodshed.

Third: If the war be much protracted there will, of course, be large public burdens for the maintenance of so large a body of men in military service. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that we produce almost everything that is necessary for the supply of the soldiers; and, again, that whatever is expended upon the army immediately reverts to the farmers and manufacturers. A single drawback there may be, viz., the diminished supply of cotton from the South. Before, however, this will be much felt, I predict that some ontlet will be found for whatever surplus cotton there is still at the South. I know not how far we are now provided, but it is almost certain that whatever there is still undisposed of at the South will in some wede be got to market, and that must be at the North, if our Government shall, as now seems probable, thoroughly enforce the blockade of the Southern ports.

Fourth: The temporary suppression of trade, while it will be disastrone to merchants in the large cities. who have invested large capital in merchandise, and more especially those who have bad large dealings with the South; yet the general effect upon our people will be salutary. There has been already, and will be still greater reduction, in the extravagance which had become a national vice. Fortunes have heretfore been too easily made, and therefore, as has been often observed in respect to accidental gains by letteries and the like, have been profusely spent. We needed lesson that should teach us the necessity of a more frugal mode of life.

Fifth : Of still more account, in my estimation, is the higher tone of character which our national peril will induce. Nothing is much valued which has not been acquired by effort; so, what has thus been ob tained will become of little account, if nothing is to be done for its perpetuity. The love of country I believe to be founded upon sacrifices which have been made, and dangers incurred, for the defense of our country. Since the War of the Revolution, we have been involved in little peril. The commercial disasters which resulted from the War of 1812 could hardly be deemed an exception, innemuch as it was believed as the time by the larger proportion of the merchants that those disusters were incurred by the reckless proceedings of our own Government, and would have been

avoided by greater preparation. Making, however, all due allowance for this exceptional case, there has been, nevertheless a general course of prosperity. Population and wealth have accumulated, till our nation has become the wonder of the civilized world. Such aggrandizement could not, in accordance with the laws by which the affairs of nations have been regulated, go on without some drawback. Already there had become apparent some serious defects on our national character. At the South there was an utter want of national feeling. At the North we had apparently become Carthaginians, wholly devoted to money-making pursuits, and regardless of the honor of the country.

It may be hoped that now, when it is found that we cannot safely allow the functions of the Federal Government to be perverted by Southern politicians to their own unhallowed purposes, we shall return to a sense of what constitutes the real greatness of a nation; that henceforth we shall remember that it is not wealth but moral worth which alone can be the basis A. H. D. of an enduring nationality.

THE UNION PARTY OF THE SOUTH. There exists in the North a singular error in refer-

ence to the character and aims of what is called the Conservative or Union-loving party of the South. It is well understood that conservatism is a thing ingrain and natural, modified by circumstances, but never destroyed. All, therefore, admit that some party embodying this principle must yet exist in the South. In reference to its character two classes of opinion seem to divide the public mind, each combining with much that is false some truth. By some it is believed that there is in all the seceding States a great party who, in secret are heartily in favor of the Union, and who are only prevented from expressing their feelings, and exerting their proper influence, by the fear of the extreme Seces sionists now in power. According to this theory, it is only necessary for the Government to break the power of the terrorism which now prevails, and these men will immediately assume their proper authority, and easily restore the harmony of the country. This is probably the general opinion, and it must be confessed that there is much in the position of the Border States, which, it will not be forgotten, are now only in a condition of transition, to entitle this opinion to the respect which it receives. Still it is false. The other theory is that the only conservative party in the South lies in that class (not a small one) which is indirectly, by birth or relationship, connected with the North, but which is bound by business interests to the South. They may have Union sentiments, it is true; but these are carefully subordinated to the higher consideration of personal interest. A class of two suits, strip off the parti-colors of Secession and you will fine them, like the clown in the play, neatly clad in the true colors of the Union. Bad Southerners and poor Northernersneither fish, flesh, nor good red herring." Examples of both these classes really exist in the South, but on ueither des the chief hope of the North rest for a happy settlement of the present difficulties. The Southern ress really speaks the truth (an accident for which it is not blamably responsible) when it declares that there are very few men in the South who would now, even if it were safe, advocate the restoration of the Union. That it should be so is perfectly natural, and nothing to the discouragement of the North. To show what I mean, I may be allowed a brief reference to the past. When the result of the Presidential election was announced in Alabama-for I shall take my illustration chiefly from

the Secessionists. They were principally those men whose political sagacity had been staked on the event of the campaign, and who revenged themselves for the disappointment of the defeat by becoming the most viclent Secessionists in the State. This movement attracted an attention entirely disproportionate to its real importance, for the general feeling was that the sense of the State would be strongly in favor of the Union. But any difference in the numerical strength of the two parties was more than made up by the differences in the men which composed them. The inactive skepticism of the one found no proper counterpoise to the energetic hopefulness of the other. The Secessionists were enthusiastic and vigilant, while the Union men were sluggish and confident. In counties where the Secession party was weak, its friends attended the caucus meetings in great numbers, and, by a skillful appearance of compromise, brought it about that one of the two delegates should be appointed from their ranks. Where, however, Secession was in majority, the other side had not the energy to demand, nor had these the temper to exhibit, a like delicate appreciation of the rights of minorities. There was, therefore, practically a great unrepresented Union party in the State. Still, when the Convention met at Montgomery, the Secession delegates were found to be only ten in majority. It was expected that the discussion would be long and animated: but after two or three days of secret session, to the indignation of more than half, and the surprise of the whole State, it was announced that the Ordidance of Secession had passed the Convention. I have rarely seen any one, even there, who does not admit that if the Ordinance had been then submitted to the people that it would have been rejected by an unquestionable majority. The Union feeling was deep, and in many parts strongly roused. If now this great party had remained stationary, retaining, though cowed into silence, the original purity of its Union sentiments, the ordinary theory of the North in reference to the present position of affairs in the South, would be correct. But there has been movement. The State had seceded; the new Government was quietly, and apparently solidly forming itself; new laws, in which all were interested, were being made; profitable offices were in gift of the new Government; the conservative spirit whispered its old motto, quieta non movere ; and really the readiest way to a peac-ful settlement of the perplexed question appeared to be to accept things as they were. Thus, by insensible sters, even the most ardent friends of the Union were at length brought to accept Secession, and with it, all its consequences. The process, in many cases, was slow; but the result, as I have had too many opportunities to observe, was inevitable. It is useless for the country to purchase selfcomplacency at the price of self-deception. Every one who is familiar with the present state of affairs in the Gulf States, and the movenent in every other State, so far as it is formidable, is tending to the same result-knows that the party which at the time of the passage of the Secession Ordinance, was in favor of the Union, is now an advocate of the cause of Secession. This the South understands, and hence her confidence. But she has yet to learn the weakness of the foundation on which this confidence rests. Although all are for Secession, still, as might be anticipated, the position occupied by the new advocates is very different from that held by the men with whom they now find themselves no unnaturally pigged together. They are men who obey reason rather than passion. From friends of the Union, they have been converted into advocates of Sic solon. By a severer logic they can be restored to their original loyalty. They left the Union to obtain peace; they must be brought to see that only in the Union is peace. So long as the Union seemed possible, they were in its favor-they must be shown that it not only is possible, but absolutely necessary. Tuey desire a vindication of the honor of the South, and at the same time are auxious for the restoration of trade. Every day of war will convince them of the fictitious value of the one and the real importance of the other. It is true they accepted with reluctance the cause of Secession, but they render it now a full if not a hearty support. Only in one serse can they be looked upon as founds of the North -they are peculiarly open to the arguments of war. But this is not for the present. It is useless to underrate the difficulties with which we have to contend. The whole South is now filled with the spirit of reballion. This spirit, however extensive, it devolves upon the North to break. To accomplish this, there must be a severe and perhaps a long war-a war which however sad in itself, yet bears with it a proper retributive penalty to that section which permitted an attempt to destroy a great and beneficent Government to grow up and strengthen itself upon its soil. Some use of the conservative party of the South will become manifest. On this class ultimately must fall the decis ion of the question, how long the war shall continue. It will be found then that there is a powerful party in the South in favor of the Union. But it will be a party which does not exist now. It will have been made by A RESIDENT IN THE SOUTH.

that State-quite a large number of men, who had just

moved over and attached themselves to the ranks of

before been advocating Union sentiments, immedi-

## RIFLED CANNON PRACTICE.

A second trial of the Hotebkiss rifled cannon and projectiles, which was made on Friday at East New-York, resulted in a highly satisfactory manner. At the previous trial, the result of which we described at the ime, the shooting was very bad, owing in part to the quality of the powder used, and partly to inappropriate mess of the gun-carriage. If we had not had the most favorable testimony from military men, and a firm faith in the correctness of the principle involved in the Hotchkiss projectile, we should have considered the first trial very unfavorable. But no person, we think, could have witnessed the experiments on Friday with out being satisfied that Mr. Hotebkies a deadly missiles are destined to play an important part in the bloody drama which has opened to our view. So far as we have information in this country of the nature of European projectiles for rifled ordnance, it would seem us if our own inventors had already produced, or were in a fair way to produce, both shot and shell of greater effectiveness and at cheaper cost. The Hotelkiss shot, beside the merit of cheapness has portability, accuracy of flight, and powerful effect at long and sho t range, to recommend it. Its leaden band so perfectly adjusts tself to the grooves as to make the portion of the bord behind it a gas-tight chamber, and consequently a charge of twelve ounces is made to send the abot us far and forcibly as one of sixteen or twenty in an ordinary

At the trial on Friday two guns were used-one, & United States brass six-pounder, rifled, weighing 85 lbs., carried a 141b Hotchkisa shot with a twelve ounce charge of powder; the other, was an iron Dahl-gren, of 2 6-10th inches bore, rided for a 51th Hotelkies shot, and weighing 756 pounds. From the large gun twenty-six shots were fired at a target 1,000 yards distant, with a mean deviation from the center of 49 inches. One shot went over the target from the accidental use of two charges of powder. From the small gun twenty-one shots were fired, with a mean devistion from the center of 41 inches. Four shots went over, because of a misunderstanding in regard to the node of signals previously agreed upon. The elevation of the small gun while firing at the target was wo-and-three-fourths degrees, with the large gan three degrees. The proportionate weight of the am piece to the shot was much the greater; hence the greater initial velocity and less elevation for the same range. The recoil of the large grn was nine feet; of the small one three feet. Several of the new shells, patented by Smith and Hetchkiss, and fitted with the Bowman time fuse were afterward fired, and burst in one, two, three, and four seconds, according to the provision made respectively. These shells discharge a load of leaden sings at a given time, and, being projected to a great distance with great precision, act when they strike much like a shrapnel.

A shot was fired from the small gun with an eleva-